

12 DEC 1972



The Guardian's politics of Maoist quarreling

By ERIK BERT

In a letter to the Daily World dated November 14, Irwin Silber, executive editor of the Guardian, complained that two articles which I wrote in the November 3 and 7 issues of the Daily World constituted a "serious distortion" of the Guardian's political position.

These two articles commented on the Guardian's November 1 "Reply to Critics" of its electoral position. They made essentially two points: first that the Guardian editors were preaching abstention from the election and second, that this abstention policy tended to isolate the anti-war struggle from the electoral struggle.

Silber said that this criticism was wrong and slanderous. He spelled it out in the November 29 Guardian.

We had intended to answer his November 14 rejoinder in detail. This has however become moot with the appearance of the November 29 article — which is actually a call for the formation of a Thought-of-Mao-Tse-tung Party in the United States.

The Guardian believes, Silber says in his Nov. 29 article, that "unity of left forces around particular struggles — particularly the war — is both possible and necessary and possible." But Silber's main contribution to "unity of left forces around... the war" is a venomous, Maoist attack on the Soviet Union.

He accuses the Soviet Union, from the lofty platform of "ideological" principle, of "abandonment of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism."

This is a poor disguise for an attack on the country which has given the most to the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The Soviet Union has contributed, and is contributing, the predominant share of economic resources and military means to the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

In view of that central fact, Silber's talk of "ideological differ-

ences" is simply camouflage, and his avowal of support for "unity of left forces around the war" is fraudulent.

Silber's attack on the Soviet Union from the "left" has its own logic. "Left" attacks on the Soviet Union inevitably followed the channels dug almost half a century ago by Trotsky.

Silber opts in this case for the Trotskyite channel, charging the "abandonment... of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism" to the "Soviet privileged elite."

That slander has been part of the Trotskyite arsenal for decades. They patented it. It has been a main ideological weapon of imperialism's anti-Sovietism.

It is a staple of the CIA's efforts at subversion in the Soviet Union. Thus, the "ultimate goal" of the CIA's Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union, the Library of Congress RL study pointed out, is the "democratization of Soviet society." The CIA also propagates the falsehood that there is a "privileged elite" in the Soviet Union which should be uprooted.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is one of the two targets of the ideology of Mao Tse-tung. The other is the Communist parties in the rest of the world, which the Maoists have been attempting to disrupt from within and destroy from without. It is only natural that the Guardian editors, having enlisted in Mao's sapper brigade, should attack the Communist Party of the United States.

Here too, originality is not essential — the Trotskyites wrote the formula long ago.

The Guardian levels two charges against the Communist Party, USA. The first is that it is "an organization of left-leaning liberals with a vague yearning for socialism who are earnestly striving for social reform."

That clearly is not a true picture of the Communist Party but rather the Guardian's own pre-Maoist constituency. The present

Guardian editors seem so embarrassed by this that they spit on the paper's past — "the time when the Guardian was a cozy left-liberal (the word then was 'progressive') weekly..." Ornithologically and politically that is called befouling one's own nest.

The attack on the Communist Party USA as "liberal" is in fact a confession that the Guardian editors, afflicted by Maoism, have forsaken the legitimate, even revolutionary, attempt to win middle-class and intellectual circles to the struggle against monopoly capitalism, repression, and war.

Their attack on the CPUSA is, in part, an advertising gimmick to launch the Guardian editors' new party which will incorporate "into its ideology the profound contributions made by Mao Tse-tung." They announce that they will attempt to foist Maoism on "the American working class."

The second target of the Guardian editors' attack is the CPUSA's support of the Soviet Union. What the Guardian editors attack as the CPUSA's "permanent state of apologia" for the Soviet Communist Party is, in fact, the unwavering support by Communists and revolutionary workers everywhere for the historic Soviet breakthrough from capitalism to socialism, for its relentless struggle against imperialism and reaction, and for peace, throughout the 55 years since its birth.

Revolutionary workers look on the Soviet Union as the foremost protagonist of the world working class, against imperialism. The Guardian editors look on it, hatefully, through the petty-bourgeois, nationalist-tinted glasses of Maoism.

The working class and the left did not really need the Guardian editors' assurance that "the CP will not and cannot undertake (the) task" of building an anti-Soviet, Maoist party. We leave the Guardian editors to quarrel with other ultra-left elements over pre-eminence in that task.

20 SEP 1972



CIA major 'publisher' of anti-Soviet literature

By ERIK BERT

In the last few years "dissident" Soviet authors have found a good market in the United States. Their books are assured uniformly of favorable reviews, and these conduce to larger sales.

Sales are helped along by a good press which is provided by the U.S. corps in Moscow. The bureau reporters for the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Christian Science Monitor, as well as visiting firemen, make sure that every squeak, or snarl of a "dissident," every onion-skin manifesto, is reported at length. In the absence of a squeak or snarl or manifesto, some enterprising reporter can be counted on to suggest one.

This leads to other things, among them to Radio Liberty headquarters in Munich, West Germany, whence the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency broadcasts anti-Soviet propaganda to the Soviet Union.

The story of this broadcasting is told in the Library of Congress study of Radio Liberty, made public earlier this year by Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The study was prepared by Joseph G. Whalen, a CIA agent in 1951 and since then an employee

of the Library of Congress. He has made anti-Communism his life's work.

"Dissident" books and their authors offer important possibilities for exploitation by the CIA. But books are, in the nature of things, long in respect to broadcasting technique. Nevertheless the CIA has used them.

Since May 1969 Radio Liberty has broadcast, in "unpublished Works of Soviet Authors," works by Marchenko, Bulgakov, Platonov, Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn, and N. Ya-Mandelstam, according to the Library of Congress study.

During February 19-24, 1971; Radio Liberty broadcast Andrei Amalrik's "Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?" in six parts; from July to July 1971, Boris Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago," in 16 parts; from July to Decem-

ber, 1970, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "The First Circle," and in late 1971, Solzhenitsyn's "August 1914," in 62 parts.

Solzhenitsyn's "First Circle" was read over Radio Liberty three days a week over a five-month period.

One of the brightest lights in the "dissident" firmament is Andrei Sakharov, Soviet physicist, who burst on the U.S. and international scene with publication

of his "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom."

Between August 5 and 13, 1971, "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom" was broadcast by Radio Liberty's North Caucasian Service in the Russian, Karachai, Ossetian and Avar languages, according to the Library of Congress study.

The CIA and its broadcasting technicians are not convinced that broadcasting "dissident" books in their entirety is the most effective use that can be made of them.

This was discussed last year at a meeting of Radio Liberty's "Russian Service" in the Munich headquarters.

Robert Tuck, director of RL's Program Operations Division, "suggested that books of this nature should be analyzed, discussed and reviewed extensively in broadcasts, rather than being read in toto."

In the "dissident" market, literary standards are secondary to political criteria, of course. Most notorious in this area was the award of the Nobel prize for literature last year to Solzhenitsyn. His literary quality was not the reason he was chosen. The subsequent anti-Soviet brush fire set by the U.S. press about Solzhenitsyn's receiving the award show-

ed that literature was low on the list of its concerns.

Literary judgment has become a matter of controversy on occasion even within the CIA broadcasting fraternity.

The Library of Congress study of the CIA's Radio Liberty operations reports that an "incipient issue began to emerge in October (1971) over the handling of Solzhenitsyn's novel 'August 1914'."

"Some staff (in Munich—EB) did not share the enthusiasm of some Western observers over the high literary quality of this work. At an informal discussion the issue arose in the form of a question as to how RL should report these mixed views.

"Our group felt that negative observations should be reported; another group . . . felt this would be unfair to Solzhenitsyn."

"Moreover, it was pointed out that it would be counterproductive to RL's purposes to report sharp criticism of Solzhenitsyn's stature in the eyes of the Soviet people . . ."

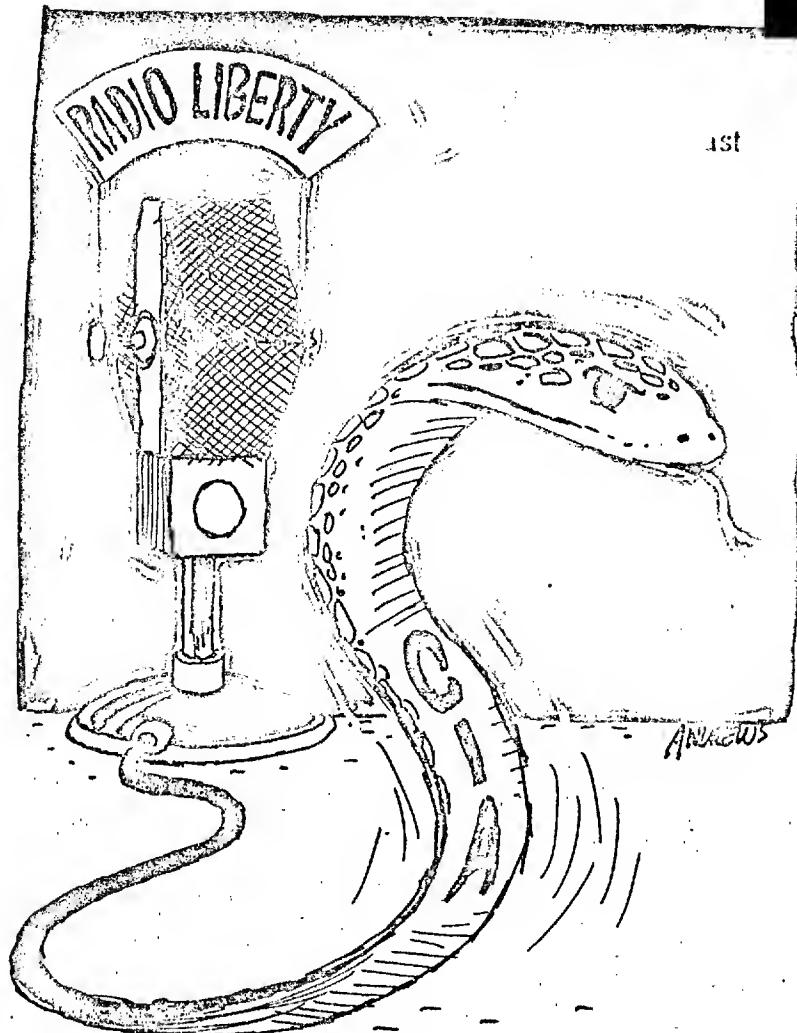
With the publication of Sakharov's book in the summer of 1968, "the parameters of dissent expanded" and the "movement entered a new phase," the Library of Congress declares.

The reasons for the CIA's interest in Sakharov's "freedom" cry are simple:

"The publication of criticisms by Sakharov . . . was the first programmatic document that brought into question some of the basic tenets of the Soviet system."

The non-literary, anti-Soviet criterion for judging 'dissident' literature has its quirks. Thus, Arthur Miller, playwright, writing in the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1971, complained:

"Solzhenitsyn's works never brought charges against the current regime but only against that of Stalin."



Stuffing mailboxes, the CIA

By ERIK BERT

The efforts of the Central Intelligence Agency and other entrepreneurs in anti-Soviet espionage are reflected in a wide variety of productions. The most recent emission in the effort to suborn anti-socialist treason in the Soviet Union is far-off in right field, practically out of the ball park.

The New York Times carried on June 20 a lengthy Moscow dispatch from Theodore J. Shabad about an "underground appeal circulating in Moscow" which "calls on Russians to strike and to demonstrate for better living conditions, as the Poles successfully did in 1970."

The following day, Charlotte Saikowski, of the Christian Science Monitor, reported from Moscow on the same document.

The document has a funny smell about it, Miss Saikowski says.

Political observers are somewhat wary of this latest burst... because the pamphlet is a curious blend of knowledge of the West on the one hand and exaggeration and sometimes inaccurate information on the other."

That did not prevent her from presenting it in her first sentence as genuine, or the Christian Science Monitor from titling her piece, "Soviet thumb fails to muzzle dissident voice." That's pretty strong for what is a particularly inept product.

Somebody told both Shabad and Miss Saikowski that as many as a thousand copies were said to have been distributed.

The "typewritten document," Shabad says, was "reportedly distributed into mail boxes of selected apartment buildings earlier this month."

Copies of the statement "have been available to Western news-men," and by them, including Shabad and Miss Saikowski, to the world.

The document exists in three versions, according to Shabad, a "short version of 200 words, a socialism."

more detailed version of 600 words and a full-length version of 1,200 words."

It's hard to know what's going on, for Miss Saikowski says the larly that Radio Liberty should document, which she calls a refrain from such stupidity, "pamphlet", runs "in its fullest which fascist-minded anti-Soviet version (to 1,000 words). Otherers have tried to foist on it. she and Shabad have different versions of the complete docu-

ment or they don't count the same way.

Shabad quotes from his full-length copy:

"The typewritten document," Shabad says, "charges that the national wealth is being squandered both on a life of luxury among the privileged and on foreign aid for political purposes."

"It paints economic conditions in dark terms, comparing them with the greater affluence in the West..."

The document cites a rise in Soviet meat and butter prices 10 years ago, to prove how miserable the workers' conditions are.

It adds that "over the last 10 years there have been... 'concealed' price rises... through changes in product assortment, reductions in quality and relabeling."

This violates the CIA admonition that subversion cannot flourish on charges that run counter to the experience of the person addressed.

Shabad faults the present document on this count.

The document makes "virtually no allowance for the improvement in the living conditions of the average citizen that has been evident to casual observers in recent years," he says.

Miss Saikowski makes the same point.

"There is... no... mention of the noticeable improvement in Soviet living standards in recent years," she says.

In view of these obvious falsehoods, it is a "moot question" to her as to whether "the pamphlet would appeal to the ordinary Soviet worker," to whom it's allegedly addressed.

She cites also, as a very dubious venture, the document's attempt to put the Soviet "state capitalism" on a par with "Hitler's socialism."

That "would certainly draw ire of deeply patriotic Soviet citizens," she says.

The CIA has cautioned particu-

larly that Radio Liberty should

document, which she calls a refrain from such stupidity, "pamphlet", runs "in its fullest which fascist-minded anti-Soviet

Shabad, that "a privileged class iet Union. The attack is oblique is living at the expense of the assaulting the CPSU by praising workers and that a costly foreign- the actions of the Polish United aid program is hurting Soviet Workers Party, the Communists" citizens."

Such charges "have been made by dissidents before," Shabad says. They "were made for ex- which the CIA uses in its Radi

ample, by Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov, the physieist in the widely circulated critique of Soviet poli- practice, citing "good" action

cy known as 'Progress, Coexist- of one Communist Party er soc

ience and Intellectual Freedom'."

It should be pointed out that the Communist Party and socialist dissemination of the Sakharov document, "which reached the which the RFE broadcast i

West in 1968," was a project in directed.

which both the New York Times and the Central Intelligence

Agency participated.

The Times published the docu-

ment in 1968, and republished it

twice, in book form.

The Sakharov work has been used by the Central Intelligence Agency, through Radio Liberty, as one of the entrees on its menu of anti-socialist broadcasting to the Soviet Union.

The "dissidents" single out Soviet aid to North Vietnam, to socialist Cuba, and to the Arab nations for attack.

These targets coincide with those of U.S. imperialism, of the Central Intelligence Agency and the New York Times.

Shabad deduces from the fact that the document is couched in what he calls "unusually blunt, aggressive language," that it is "plainly directed at the average workingman."

Whatever the intentions, the document is an incredible product. It violates all of the rules which the Central Intelligence Agency has set down for its Soviet-directed Radio Liberty broadcasts.

It talks of the "Kremlin rulers," in the jargon of Western "Kremlinologists." It talks, also, of "Kremlinites," a newly invented epithet in "Kremlinology."

The document calls for strikes and demonstrations. The goals of these struggles are depicted as defense of socialism and the advance to Communism, "freedom of speech of the press, of the right to strike etc."

The actual target however is

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Letter to Fulbright

Is Radio Liberty A Cold War Relic?

Sen. J. William Fulbright
Foreign Relations Committee
The Capitol, Washington

DEAR BILL:

I see by the papers that you are persevering in your efforts to sink Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty on the grounds that they are "remnants of the Cold War." What causes me to write you this open letter is Robert Kaiser's recent interview in Moscow with Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel Prize winning Soviet writer.

I was intrigued by this paragraph in Kaiser's account of the interview and I wonder if you spotted it:

"He criticized the Soviet press for its lack of fairness and completeness, and had a good word for Radio Liberty, the station financed by the U.S. government which broadcasts in Russian from West Germany. 'If we learn anything about events in our own country,' he said, 'it's from there.'"

There are a number of passages in the partial text of the interview, as printed in The Washington Post, that also should interest you. For instance, Solzhenitsyn said that "you Westerners cannot imagine my situation." And: "No one dares to stand up and object to a party propagandist, because if he does, the next day he may lose his job and even his freedom." And: "In general, in our country we seem to bait people not with arguments, but with the most primitive labels, the coarsest names, and also the simplest, designed, as they say, to arouse the fury of the masses." And, finally: "It really never occurs to them [those directing the campaign against Solzhenitsyn] that a writer who thinks differently from the majority of society represents an asset to that society, and not a disgrace or a defect."

THE DAY this interview was printed you were quoted as saying your committee intends to have hearings covering "the critical early period of the Cold War" in order to get at the origins of American involvement in the Vietnam war. A great deal of material is now on the public record and it can serve a useful purpose to go back and examine it with perspective. You may have noted that Solzhenitsyn also is trying to do some historical research, into Russian history, but that he had been blocked from many documents and sources and that he complained in the interview that his defamers "refuse to acknowledge the complexity and richness of history in its diversity."

It seems to me, Bill, that you and he are both trying to probe the origins of national attitudes though from different perspectives and that as the interview shows, it is much easier for you to do than it is for him. He has no con-

gressional committee to help, for one thing. Isn't this what you, too, are working for? In terms of contemporary affairs and their bearing on future problems in Soviet-American relations he must depend on word of mouth, underground publications and Radio Liberty. But you want to deprive him of Radio Liberty and deprive others like him in Eastern Europe of what they likewise can learn of their own nations from Radio Free Europe.

Of course I realize that you believe the Cold War is over or at least is an anachronism. But wishing does not make it true. What Solzhenitsyn says to me is that he is caught up in the Soviet Union in the internal part of Moscow's own Cold War attitude. The worst phase of the American version of the Cold War was the period of McCarthyism and Solzhenitsyn seems to be fighting a Kremlin version of McCarthyism.

You may respond that what goes on inside the Soviet Union is none of our business; let Solzhenitsyn fight his own battles. He is doing that, of course, but why deny him the help of the American radio stations?

Many Americans are exercised about the Soviet government's treatment of its Jews and of its many other minorities. This seems to me a valid concern and the evidence is that the expressions of such concern, short of the extremists here who carry it to the point of violence, have had an effect on Soviet policies.

That does not seem to me to be a Cold War exercise but rather a valid expression of human concern for mankind anywhere and everywhere. You object that such concern has turned the United States into the world's policeman and led us into Vietnam, the Dominican venture and so on. But isn't that because we failed to draw a sensible line, that we crossed over from the mental to the physical form of activity?

I DON'T HAVE much faith in the theory that American and Soviet policies are moving toward convergence. On the other hand, I do think that what Moscow and Washington do affects the other's actions, internally as well as externally, to some degree.

There is a paragraph in the Solzhenitsyn interview that seems to express your own philosophy:

"The study of Russian history, which has now led me back to the end of the last century, has shown me how valuable peaceful outlets are for a country, and how important it is that authority—no matter how autocratic and unlimited—should listen, with good will to society, and that society should assume the real position of power; how important it would be to have righteousness, not strength and violence, guide the country."

The Iron Curtain of Churchill's time may be shot full of holes but it has not disappeared. The Cold War has been mitigated but it is not ended. How many Russians come here as Fulbright fellows? How many Americans study in the Soviet Union?

I have been a long-time believer in East-West contacts, as you have. I cannot see the logic of your wanting to end the contact provided by Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. They are not calling for revolution; we are long since past John Foster Dulles' "liberation." But they do provide contact, as Solzhenitsyn is my witness.

Chalmers M. Roberts

7 APR 1972

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The Nobel crime

IN a stupid and heartless move, the Soviet Union has refused an entry visa to the permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, which awards the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The terrible crime he was planning was to present, at an informal ceremony in a private apartment in Moscow, the medal and diploma of the 1970 prize to Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, Russia's greatest living writer.

Because his novels depict the horrors of Stalin's prison camps, which he survived, and because he fearlessly speaks out against the police-state aspects of modern Soviet life, Mr. Solzhenitsyn is anathema to the ruling Communist party.

From anyone who values freedom, Mr. Solzhenitsyn deserves respect bordering on awe — not only for the uncompromising truth of his novels but also for his personal comportment. At considerable risk, he is filling the role of Russia's conscience.

Instead of behaving like an unperson as an outcast should, Mr. Solzhenitsyn this week called in two American news correspondents. He boldly complained of harassment aimed at thwarting his work on a series of historical novels.

He is barred from using public archives and forbidden to hire research assistants. Survivors of the revolution are intimidated out of sharing their memories with him. His friends are followed and threatened, his mail opened,

his house bugged. His wife was fired from her job to intensify financial pressure on him.

* * *

IN the interview, Mr. Solzhenitsyn made a remark of special relevance to Americans. He criticized the Soviet press' lack of fairness and completeness and praised Radio Liberty which broadcasts in Russian from West Germany.

"If we learn anything about events in our own country," he said, "it's from there."

Like Radio Free Europe, its sister station that broadcasts to the Soviet satellites, Radio Liberty is supported by the U.S. Government. Both stations are the target of a relentless vendetta by Chairman J. W. Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and will go off the air June 30 if he has his way.

Radio Liberty is one medium by which the thoughts of Mr. Solzhenitsyn and other dissident writers can reach broad audiences in Russia. It also serves as his insurance policy: The secret police would drag him away in a minute if they could be sure Radio Liberty would not alert his admirers.

For brave men like Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who risk all for a decent future for Russia, Radio Liberty is a candle holding back the totalitarian night. Sen. Fulbright, for dubious reasons, wants to snuff it out. He must not be permitted to do so.

U.S. Envoy in Israel Given Plea to Save Radio Liberty

Special to The New York Times

TEL AVIV, March 20—Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union pleaded with the United States today to continue Radio Liberty broadcasts to countries of the Soviet bloc.

A delegation of 10 called upon Ambassador Walworth Barbour at the United States Embassy. A spokesman for the delegation, Abraham Shifrin, gave the Ambassador a petition to the United States Senate, urging that it reject Senator J. W. Fulbright's proposal to cut off funds for the program, which the Senator considers an irrelevant holdover from the cold war.

The petition called Radio Liberty the "voice which gives millions in Russia and other countries behind the Iron Curtain the feeling they still belong to the human family."

Mikhail Barenboim, a radio engineer from Moscow, describing efforts made by Soviet authorities to jam the transmissions, said it would be ironic if the Senate did what the Russians failed to do.

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Radio Liberty Hard Hit by

Slash in Funds

BY FRANK STARR

[Washington Bureau Chief]

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—Radio Liberty, one of the chief non-Communist sources of news for Soviet citizens, may have to start selling its transmitters to meet appropriations cuts enacted by Congress, a source close to the operation said today.

The decision already has been taken to liquidate some Radio Liberty activities developed over a period of 20 years, the source said, altho these activities could not be identified pending notice to affected employees.

Radio Free Europe, funded with Radio Liberty and suffering the same budget cuts, will be required to violate existing labor contracts with the American Newspaper Guild by not honoring negotiated three-year raises, William Durkee, its president, said.

End Funding by CIA

The funding crisis for the two stations arose out of a still-unresolved controversy opened last January when Sen. Clifford Case [R., N.J.] proposed ending clandestine funding for the stations thru the Central Intelligence Agency in favor of direct government funding.

While not objecting to public funding, as opposed to CIA funding, the Nixon administration sought to establish an independent nonprofit corporation to fund and administer the radios so they would not become official voices of the government.

After stormy hearings in which Chairman J. William Fulbright [D., Ark.] of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee suggested killing both overseas radio operations, the Senate passed a bill calling for studies of the operations and one year's funding of \$35 million thru the State Department.

Conferees Cut Funds

The House on Nov. 30 passed, 211 to 12, a bill providing \$36 million thru the chairman of a proposed commission on international radio broadcasting which would study the operations, make recommendations, and cease to exist in 1973.

However, compromise between the two bills became hung up in the confrontation between Senate and House leaderships over foreign aid authorizations. Pending authorization, Senate-House conferees on Dec. 9 slashed a supplemental appropriations bill, cutting the radio funds to \$32 million.

Even if a continuing resolution is passed before the current session closes, it must allow only \$32 million for both stations, three-quarters of whose expenditures are for personnel living in Europe. Thus both are facing in addition to sharp budget cuts, higher operating costs due to reduction in the value of the dollar abroad.

On Air 24 Hours Daily

Radio Liberty broadcasts 24 hours a day in 20 Soviet languages to the Soviet Union and is, in the current crisis, the only non-Communist source of news of the Indian-Pakistani war for the large Soviet Moslem population of Central Asia.

Of eight transmitters in West Germany, six in Spain, and three on Taiwan, all but one or two may have to be sold, sources said, which would mean loss of frequencies, air time, and geographical coverage.

Radio Free Europe, which

gets about \$19 million of the \$32 million for both stations but which raises, in addition, more than \$3 million privately each year, faces a less-urgent situation but will be unable to participate in annual salary raise negotiations in West Germany, Durkee said.

Audience of 31 Million

He added that if funds are not provided in 1973, it, too, will have to start curtailing operations.

Based primarily in West Germany, Radio Free Europe broadcasts in their own languages to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania on an average of 15 hours a day from 32 transmitters. It counts an estimated audience of 31 million people.

Both stations seek to maintain a semblance of independence of the United States government so, unlike the Voice of America, they can be free to broadcast commentary and other material on internal affairs of the Communist countries.

*Radio Liberty Reporting
To Soviet on Khrushchev*

Starting at 9:20 A.M. yesterday, Radio Liberty began reporting to the people of the Soviet Union news of Nikita S. Khrushchev's death from its transmitters in Munich, West Germany, and the Costa Brava in Spain.

The American-financed station carried a 30-minute documentary featuring Mr. Krushchev's own voice in speeches that he made from 1953 to 1964.

25 JAN 1971

Case offers bill

CIA again charged with policy meddling

By Robert P. Hey

Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Once again, charges of Central Intelligence Agency influence on U.S. foreign policy are reverberating through Congress.

Sen. Clifford P. Case charges that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty actually are financed--clandestinely--by the CIA, to the tune of more than \$30 million annually.

The New Jersey Republican alleges "several hundred million dollars in United States Government funds" have been given these stations over the past 20 years without congressional approval or even knowledge.

✓ In New York, Bernard Yarow, senior vice-president of Radio Free Europe, says his organization's reaction to the charges is: "No comment."

Support supposedly private

Both stations beam information to Communist-controlled nations in Eastern Europe. They have stoutly maintained for years that they were financed through private contributions.

Senator Case, the New Jersey Republican, thinks it is high time all this was brought out into the open. He has introduced legislation to have the finances of both stations provided, openly, through the same authorization-and-appropriation process through which Congress controls the budgets of most governmental agencies.

These changes strengthen one present trend -- the increasing insistence of Congress--particularly the Senate--on exerting influence upon the direction of United States foreign policy.

But all this also seems like a page out of the recent past. In 1967 it was disclosed that the CIA was funding what had been presumed to be an organization of students without government links, the National Student Association. The uproar at that time was thunderous over clandestine government penetration of student organizations, with all the implications of potential infringement on academic freedom.

Earlier report quoted

Senator Case now quotes, with considerable irony, a recommendation made by a presidential committee which investigated that CIA funding.

It recommended that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the

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nation's educational or voluntary organizations," and that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy."

Sources close to Senator Case say he is not trying to close down Radio Free Europe, but merely to bring into the open the government's relationship to it.

The view here is that the CIA for 20 years has remained the financier of Radio Free Europe, in the Case charge, due to bureaucratic inertia. "It's the whole question of how does the government change," in the words of one source. No one here suggests there is any Machiavellian plot behind the CIA financing, at least, not at present.

The Case bill is expected to be referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Sen. J. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas, where it is assured a sympathetic hearing. Senator Case is a member of that committee.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP

Case Would Bar C.I.A. Aid For Radio Free Europe

By BENJAMIN WELLES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23.— Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, charged today that the Central Intelligence Agency had spent several hundred million dollars over the last 20 years to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty functioning.

Mr. Case, a member of the Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees, said that he would introduce legislation Monday to bring Government spending on the two stations under the authorization and appropriations process of Congress. Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, said today that he would introduce similar legislation in the House.

Radio Free Europe, founded in 1950, and Radio Liberty, formed a year later, both have powerful transmitters in Munich, West Germany, staffed by several thousand American technicians and refugees from Eastern Europe.

Radio Liberty broadcasts only into the Soviet Union, Radio Free Europe to other Eastern European countries except Yugoslavia.

Both organizations have offices in New York and purport to be privately endowed with funds coming exclusively from foundations, corporations and the public. Both, however, are extremely reticent about the details of their financing.

Senator Case noted in a statement that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "claim to be nongovernmental organizations sponsored by private contributions." However, he went on, "available sources indicate direct C.I.A. subsidies pay nearly all their costs."

The Senator said that the Central Intelligence Agency provided the stations with \$30-million in the last fiscal year without formal Congressional approval.

Disclosures Restricted

Under the agency's operating rules, its activities—such as covert funding—are approved by the

National Security Council. However, disclosure to Congress is limited to a handful of senior legislators on watchdog committees of each house.

The Central Intelligence Agency and Radio Free Europe both declined to comment today on Senator Case's statement. Efforts to elicit comment from Radio Liberty were unavailing.

Covert C.I.A. funding of the two stations has, however, been an open secret for years, although the C.I.A., in accordance with standing policy, and the two stations themselves have consistently refused to discuss either their operations or their funding.

Citing returns filed with the Internal Revenue Service in the 1969 fiscal year, Mr. Case said that the stations' combined operating costs that year totaled \$33,997,336. Of this, he said, Radio Free Europe spent \$21,109,925 and Radio Liberty \$12,887,401.

Funds Sought by Advertisement

"The bulk of Radio Free Europe's and Radio Liberty's budgets, or more than \$30-million annually, comes from direct C.I.A. subsidies," Mr. Case charged. "Congress has never participated in authorization of appropriations of funds to R.F.E. or R.L., although hundreds of millions of dollars in Government funds have been spent during the last 20 years."

Mr. Case pointed out that Radio Free Europe conducted a yearly campaign for public contributions under the auspices of the Advertising Council. Between \$12-million and \$20-million in free media space is donated annually to this campaign, he said, but the return from the public is "apparently less than \$100,000."

Furthermore, he said, both stations attempt to raise money from corporations and foundations but contributions from these sources reportedly pay only a small part of the stations' total budgets.

Senator Case said that his proposed legislation would seek to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds for both stations in the fiscal year beginning next July 1. His proposal would call for an initial sum of \$30-million, but he said that the sum would be subject to change.

Bar on Other Funds

At the same time, Mr. Case said, his proposal would provide that "no other" United States Government funds could be made available to either station except under the provisions of the act. He also said that he would ask that Administration officials concerned with overseas information policies be called to testify in order to determine the amount needed for the stations' operations. "I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary," Mr. Case said.

But, he went on, the justification for covert funding has lessened over the years as international tension has eased, as the secrecy surrounding the stations has "melted away," and as more open means of funding could be developed.

"In other words," he said, "the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and Congressional approval no longer exist."

John Created XXX

Mr. Case pointed out that in 1967, after there had been public disclosure that the C.I.A. had been secretly funding the National Student Association, President Johnson created a committee that was headed by Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, the Under Secretary of State, and that included Richard Helms, head of the C.I.A., and John W. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

He further noted that on March 29, 1967, Mr. Johnson publicly accepted the committee's recommendation that "no Federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations" and that "no programs currently would justify any exceptions to this policy."

People familiar with the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty noted that both had been started at the peak of the Cold War and had just "gone rolling on" ever since. The committee, some sources said, had cut off covert funding from virtually all other recipients.

"They solved all the tough ones," one source said, "but they were under such pressure from Johnson to get their re-

Congress and the public cut off that they didn't solve the funding of the stations. They turned it over to another committee."

The second committee, whose

members these sources declined

to identify, worked over a year

and then turned in secret

recommendations to Mr. John-

son. However, Mr. Johnson

pigeonholed the recommenda-

tions and finally left the

problem for the incoming

Nixon Administration to solve,

and when no other Government

the sources said.

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100120001-9

24 JAN 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00

Case Bill Strips Secrecy From Radio Free Europe

STATINTL

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) announced yesterday that he will introduce legislation Monday to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under congressional scrutiny by substituting direct appropriations for secret funding of the two organizations.

The bill would provide an initial \$30 million grant to the two stations, nominally run by private groups but widely known to be principally bankrolled by the Central Intelligence Agency. Case said his bill, which would amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, would prohibit the use of any other government funds for the two stations.

"During the last 20 years," Case said, "several hundred million dollars in U.S. government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe." He added: "In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30,000,000 was provided by CIA as a direct government subsidy; yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

Both Radio Free Europe and



CLIFFORD CASE

...sponsors RFE reform

Radio Liberty attempt to raise funds from corporations and foundations, Case said, but the bulk of their operating budgets come from direct CIA subsidies although the "justification for covert funding has lessened over the years."

Case to Lift Cover On CIA Radio Aid

By GEORGE SHERMAN
Star Staff Writer

Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., will present legislation tomorrow to end what he claims are secret multimillion dollar subsidies given by the Central Intelligence Agency to private American radio stations broadcasting to Communist Europe.

According to a statement issued yesterday, Case charges that last fiscal year alone the CIA gave "over \$30 million" to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "as direct government subsidy." Both supposedly are non-governmental anti-Communist stations. Both are based in Munich, Germany.

"During the last 20 years several hundred million dollars in United States Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe," Case charged.

Substitute Funding Sought

Case, a member of both the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations committees, said he will present legislation to bring the two stations under the authorization and appropriation process of Congress. He will call tentatively for a \$30 million authorization, he said, under the amended U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948.

Rep. Ogden R. Reid, R-N.Y., will introduce similar legislation in the House, Case said.

In developing his case, Case said that income tax returns showed that the combined operating costs of the two stations in fiscal 1969 were nearly \$34 million (\$21,109,935 for Radio Free Europe and \$12,887,401 for Radio Liberty).

Of that amount, he charged, \$30 million came from the CIA. Less than \$100,000 came from the public, through a free advertising campaign by the Advertising Council on the media in this country, and a "small part" more came from private corporations and foundations, Case said.

Easing of Tension Noted

Case charged that any possible justification for this "covert funding" has lessened over the years with the easing of international tensions.

The New Jersey Republican said he would ask that administration officials be called to testify before Congress on the needs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

He noted that in 1967, after disclosures that the CIA was providing funds for the National Student Association, President Johnson accepted a recommendation that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's

educational or voluntary organizations."

That recommendation, which added that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy," was made by John Gardner, then secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Richard Helms, director of CIA, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then undersecretary of State.

"The extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes" in an "emergency situation" years ago, said Case, "no longer exist."

Evidence Cited

Sources close to Case say evidence exists to prove that the two stations are really adjuncts of the U.S. government. They say that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty receive classified documents from the American consulate general in Munich for use in their broadcasts.

Furthermore, the sources say, Radio Free Europe sends messages to Washington -- presumably to the CIA -- using the secret coding system of the consulate general.

Observers here said Case merely is bringing out into the open a situation known in official circles for years.

:STATINTL